COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Now, my dear fellow citizens, how is it possible you can conceive, that any person, who holds an office " of some hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit, will, " if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing when he sits in the House, that he " knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, " these are not times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing stars are much " more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find ten thousand pounds " by digging in my garden, than such a phœnix, by searching among the present race of mankind. Count " upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one person in office, of which he is not master for life, will " ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe " him to be an honest gentleman, as the word honest is generally understood. But he loves his employment " better than he does you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth."—SWIFT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——To give a narrative of the occurrences of the war would be useless, seeing that those occurrences are detailed, much more fully than my space enables me to detail them; and, seeing besides, that, as to making an authentic record of them, as matter for history, that will be, in due course of time, done by carefully inserting, as has been done in former cases, all the papers officially promulgated by the negociating and belligerent powers.——The defeat of the Prussian army seems to have excited very little surprise, amongst any description of persons, notwithstanding the flattering hopes that were held forth by the writers in the Morning Post and in some other of the London prints; and, it is indeed, to me, no small satisfaction to perceive, that the public mind has, at last, arrived at a state to reject, with contempt, the attempts at delusion made by the proprietor of the print just mentioned, who, it is confidently stated, has received, in a way the most likely to produce effect upon the conscience of a trading politician, a convincing proof that even his well-dressed rabble of readers are no longer to be deceived.——The public were duly prepared for what has happened upon the Continent of Europe. There was not, as I had before occasion to observe, one man in the kingdom, of plain good sense and of common information, who expected to see the war terminate in favour of the allies, if, indeed, an *alliance* can be said to exist.—— As to the future progress of the war, it appears to me most likely that Prussia will make peace, if possible, upon any terms that Napoleon shall dictate. What these terms may be it is hard to anticipate in detail; but we may confidently expect, that, if they leave the king of Prussia upon his throne, if they leave him the *name*, they will rob him of all the powers of a king. *Poland* seems likely to receive a new master; and, that measure once accomplished, who shall give us security, that Russia, far as it is from France, will not feel the effect of her arms and her principles; for, though we, in this country, though there is not a man amongst us, weak enough to see any thing to envy in the situation of Frenchmen, yet, we should consider, that the Russians may not think like us. In short, there appears to be but too much reason to fear, that, unless some most extraordinary and unexpected event should take place speedily, the whole of the Continent of Europe will either be conquered by Napoleon, or that, at least, there will remain no part of it free from his absolute controul.——It only remains, then, for us to inquire, how, in that case, we shall be able to prevent our own country from being conquered. That we shall continue to be masters of the sea; that we shall defeat the fleets of Napoleon wherever we meet them; that we shall materially annoy him in many ways, there is no doubt; and, I think, it is equally evident, that it will be out of his power materially to injure our trade. But, *how long* can we, staggering as we now do under our burthens, continue the contest against him, who will have all the means, of every sort, of the whole of continental Europe at his command? This is the question. Disguise the matter how we may: deceive ourselves as much any please: lay, as long as we like, exertion, " tering unction to our s support, of question for every man t is yours, and to and never to turn from, u it to look for sup- up his mind to an answer. where he can look us to call one another nam confidence of suc- tions conveyed in the w lted and indepen- *Leveller* will do nothing a It is perfectly useless for curse and endeavour to ha

This question we must make up our minds to answer; and we must seriously and unanimously prepare to act accordingly; or, we may be assured, that the sword of the enemy will put an end to all our animosities and our squabbles.——It is, and it has uniformly been, my opinion, that, to be able to withstand the power of France, let who will be her ruler, we must have a change of system; I mean particularly in affairs of finance; because, my great fear is, as I have so often expressed it, that the burdens of the people may be increased, until they shall become as indifferent to the fate of their king and country, as the people of the continental states have uniformly been. Of the means of preventing this, the greatest of all evils, I have often spoken; and, upon the change of ministry I was in hopes that some, at least, of these means would have been adopted; but, alas! the same causes that subdued the mighty spirit of Mr. Fox, who was, I sincerely believe, as honest a hearted man as ever breathed, have hitherto prevented any measure of that sort. Let us hope, however, that *this Ministry* (for I am by no means anxious to see such a change of men as, at this time, could alone be hoped for) will yet, when they see that there is no other hope left, have recourse to some means of lightening the burdens of taxation, and of infusing a new spirit into the people. But, at any rate, whatever we may think of the conduct of the Ministers; however some men may dislike them, let no man act as if he disliked his country or his king. Let each man take care of his own character; let him manfully resent the injurious aspersions of venal tongues or venal pens, but let him never, for one moment, suffer that resentment to hurry him into any step favourable to the enemy, or inimical to the permanent stability of that kingly government, without which experience has proved to us that there is no real freedom to be enjoyed by the people.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.——My readers, as well as all the sound part of the nation, will have been agreeably surprised at the turn which things have taken in this great city. MR. PAULL's addresses to the Electors [illegible] have been read by every one, long before [illegible] reaches the press; and I should to [illegible] inserted an *Account of the* those of [illegible] *the Crown and Anchor* articles, and [illegible] *last*, were it not grounds a prov[illegible]ose of counteracting whenever Russia [illegible] misrepresentations, particularly in *the* what passed upon that occasion. I shall first insert an Account as published in the ORACLE news-paper of the 31st ultimo, and shall then beg leave to trouble the reader with a few remarks of my own, first, observing, that this account does great credit to the industry as well as to the liberality of the Editor; and that, if this Editor does never happen to exercise any of his liberality towards *me*, I ascribe his conduct to the pitiable dependence of his situation, and by no means to the badness of his heart.

ACCOUNT.

"Yesterday a Meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, pursuant to advertisement, of the Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster, professedly in the interest of MR. PAULL.—Sir FRANCIS BURDETT was in the Chair. The number present appeared to be about 300.—After dinner (which was a good one) and the cloth having been removed, the first toast was

"THE KING"—which was drank with great applause.

"The Independent Electors of Westminster."

"Sir Francis Burdett."

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT rose, and spoke as follows:—Gentlemen, I never rose more cheerfully in my life than I do now, to perform a duty; for I think it is a duty, to support a public man, who comes forward as a Candidate for Westminster, and who comes forward upon independent principles. I never rose, I say, more cheerfully or more satisfactorily to perform a duty to the Public than I do upon the present occasion, in recommending to you a Gentleman who sits near me, Mr. Paull, to represent the Independent Electors of this great city.—I will not detain you long in observations preparatory to drinking his health; but shall briefly state to you one or two observations, which, I trust, will induce you to concur with me in thinking that Mr. Paull is the *only* person who can be supported, upon this occasion, on honourable and public grounds by the independent part of the Electors of this City.—Gentlemen, the advertisement of your late Representive (Lord Gardner) who now declines coming forward as a Candidate for your future suffrages, carries in itself, strong, and, indeed, sufficient reason, why he ought never to have been a Candidate at all, and why a person, who stands under the same circumstances, and in the same predicament, cannot, any more than himself, fulfil that duty, which ought to be the first, if not the only object of those whom you

Printed by Cox and [illegible]
Garden where

deign to favour with your support. In his advertisement, Lord Gardner states, "*that "he cannot come forward as a Candidate to "represent you in Parliament, on account "of his professional duty, which compels "him to be absent from the House of "Commons.*" I do not mean to insinuate, for I do not feel, that either of these gallant officers is not a very fit object of any honour or professional reward or emolument, which their country could bestow upon them; but this is the only situation—I mean, that of being Candidate for your suffrages to represent you in parliament;—I say, the only situation wherein an English naval officer can appear to any disadvantage.——Gentlemen, upon reflection, I say, it is the only possible situation in which an English naval officer can be made an instrument to oppose the liberty, the independence, and, I must say, the interests of his country.——Gentlemen, if Sir Samuel Hood, of whose gallantry and meritorious conduct there can be entertained but one opinion, was asking only some mark of honour or respect from his countrymen, no man in England would oppose him; nor would any be more ready to shew him respect than the electors of the City of Wesminster; but, on the present occasion, wherein your choice confers no sinecure office, but a laborious duty, and not less important even than his professional duty, requiring, as it does, so much attendance and exertion, and admitting of no absense, I think that under all such circumstances, you will concur with me in thinking that the gallant officer cannot be fit to fill it ——Therefore Lord Gardner has left behind him a legacy which has not only excluded himself, but every other naval officer, from claiming your suffrages to represent you in Parliament. Then, gentlemen, conceiving that the profession of Sir Samuel Hood, and the duties which attend it, are inconsistent with a faithful discharge of those of a Member of Parliament, which is no more than saying that no man can act in two places, and act in two capacities at one time, it cannot be any affront to him to refuse him support in an application made on his behalf, in which he has no claim; because it is impossible for him to serve you as a Member of Parliament without neglecting his duty as a naval officer, for which reason he is an unfit candidate to represent you in Parliament.——After having disposed of that part of the question before you, I come to the next candidate for your suffrages, Mr. Sheridan. On the propriety of his being originally a candidate, I have already given my opinion—that opinion is before the public—I maintain that opinion now upon that subject - but putting all other observations out of the question, I cannot but think that a treasurer of the navy is unfit to represent this great and independent city in Parliament — (bursts of applause — bravo! bravo!)—Gentlemen, there remains then for our choice but one candidate, Mr. Paull—who, if he had no other merit, than that of being unconnected with and independent of the other two would give him a decided preference to both He comes forward to afford the Electors of Westminster an opportunity to maintain the independence of their city; so that, upon that foundation alone, I think you cannot doubt which of the three candidates is best entitled to your support. But Mr. Paull stands on ground still higher, on ground which, I will be bold to say, not only claims, but deserves, the independent support of every man in the community. I will state, as briefly as I can, the merits of Mr. Paull's conduct; and I am sorry to say that he stands as a singular individual in the present time, on account of his adherence to public principles; of his pursuing oppressors; of his bringing accusations against alledged delinquents; and all this under such singular disadvantages, that I will be bold to say, without compliment to him, few indeed would, under the same circumstances, have adhered to the cause of public virtue in the same manner as Mr. Paull has done.—(Great applause.)—Every art and trick that could be employed to create obstruction, or to present all sorts of opposition to the object of Mr. Paull, open or underhanded, to prevent him from pursuing that object, were exercised, either to cajole or terrify him from the pursuit of it; but they all proved unavailing. But what is the strongest recommendation of Mr. Paull to your suffrages is, that it has been a strong motive with ministers, perhaps the strongest, to dissolve the present parliament, in order to stifle his voice in it — (vast applause) — for they are well aware, that Mr. Paull cannot come into parliament for money—he is a proscribed person amongst those who have seats at their disposal. He cannot come in again to perform what he has so nobly begun, by any means but those of the independent exertion, by the uncorrupt and energetic support, of a popular election, such as yours, and to which, I say, he has a right to look for support; nor do I know where he can look with such well-founded confidence of success, as to the public spirited and indepen-

dent Electors of this great and enlightened city. I say, therefore, that for these reasons only, being engaged as he is against a great alledged delinquent, and being proscribed from all places except those that are populous and independent, he has a claim upon your integrity—with your assistance he will stand upon a rock, from which he cannot be removed; and this consideration is of the utmost importance, for he alone can do it with effect; nobody but himself can effectually carry on the enquiry which he has commenced, and with your assistance he will be a *fulcrum*, sufficiently powerful, perhaps to remove even the present broad bottomed administration. Gentlemen, I shall not detain you any longer, because this is a meeting of business. We should now proceed on the true purpose of it, on which I trust we are agreed unanimously, that of securing the election of Mr. Paull. But before I proceed to drink that gentleman's health, I will read to you certain Resolutions which I shall submit for your approbation, as being descriptive of the fixed principles of Mr. Paull, and upon which he is to be recommended to your notice." He then read the following RESOLUTIONS, which were all carried unanimously, *viz.*

" Resolved,—1. That, to be represented " in the legislature by men sent thither by " our own free choice, is our undoubted " right as Englishmen; is the only security " for the possession of our property or the " enjoyment of our personal freedom; and " is, indeed, the only thing which distinguishes us from the subjects of a despot.

" 2. That duly impressed with the value " of this, our constitutional privilege, and " perceiving, with deep affliction, that, " through the influence of corruption and " venality, this inestimable privilege has, in " numerous instances, been undermined and " annihilated, it is, at this critical period, " the duty of every body having a right to " vote, and particularly the Electors of this " great and populous city, so to exercise " their franchise as to exhibit to the rest of " the kingdom an example of good sense, of " public spirit, of purity of principle, and of " resolution to maintain or recover those " rights, which, when constitutionally enjoyed, have always proved to be the greatest blessing to the people, and the securest foundation of the throne.

" 3. That we have observed, with unfeigned sorrow, that out of the 658 members of the late House of Commons, a comparatively very small portion ever attended their duty: that nearly one half of " the whole were placemen, dependent officers, and pensioners; that, it was but " too often evident, that the motive of action was private interest rather than public " good; and that, amongst those who were " loudest in their professions of devotion to " the king, the chief object was to render " him, as well as his people, the slaves of " faction.

" 4. That in the parliamentary conduct " of Mr. Paull, we have observed a constant " attention to his duty, a strict adherence " to every promise made to the public, a " virtuous abhorrence of oppressors and peculators, an inflexible perseverance in the " prosecution of delinquency, a rare instance of resistance to those temptations, " by which so many other men have been " seduced to betray their trust; and, that " upon these grounds, it is incumbent upon " us, collectively and individually, to use " all the legal means within our power to " secure his election, and therein to do all " that rests with us to preserve our country " from a fate similar to that of so many " European states which have fallen an easy " conquest to the enemy, only because the " people had neither property nor liberty to " defend."

SIR FRANCIS then drank " the health of MR. PAULL and success to his election."

Mr. PAULL rose and said; " Gentlemen, I am almost an entire stranger, and utterly unknown to you as a public character, and I feel greater diffidence in addressing you, than I felt in addressing that assembly in which I had once, and in which I still seek a seat. I claim your indulgence, without making many professions. I will not say as some do, I have no words to convey my thanks to you for your kindness; but although I use but few words to express those thanks, I hope I can feel more affection for your interests than a man who can say more —(Bursts of applause.)—I say, I hope I feel more than a man who can say more, and that my conduct will hereafter prove the truth of what I now assert on the subject of the great national contest, for so I call it, in which we are now engaged— I mean an appeal to you for a seat in parliament. I certainly had no intention to offer myself to the Electors of Westminster before I had some claim; and now I have the greatest, because I am proscribed by every man in power in this country. I appeal to you, as a body able to defeat that proscription, and as disposed to do so, for there is a spirit in this country which can always defeat any despotic minister of the crown. From the first

time I have been able to think upon political topics, I have been determined to follow the steps of a distinguished and illustrious patriot, for whose principles I have been an avowed advocate, with whom I should wish to live, and with whom and for whose principles I am ready, if necessary, to die—I mean Sir F. Burdett—(Applause). I can only add, that if I am returned for this city to parliament, I will attend my duty as I have always done; and as I have no doubt my friend (Sir F. Burdett) will be returned, I shall be proud to be at his back; I pledge myself to support him in resisting the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and every other measure that may tend to encroach on the liberty of the subject. I shall think with pride on the proceedings of this day; and rather than submit to tyranny, I will with pride even go to the scaffold with that distinguished patriot Sir Francis Burdett, if such should be our fate in our last efforts to resist it! Gentlemen, I thank you sincerely for drinking my health, and with drinking yours most cordially I now beg leave to retire, in order to pay my respects to some of those of my friends who have not been able to favour us with their company here.

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after expressing his conviction that the Meeting would naturally sympathise in the feelings of any body of men assailed by ministerial influence, proposed, at the request of Mr. Cobbett, "THE INDPENDENT ELECTORS OF HAMP-"SHIRE, *and success to their endeavours to* "*preserve the remains of their freedom* "*against the attacks of an arrogant Minis-*"*ter.*"—This toast, and that of "The IN-"DEPENDENT ELECTORS OF MIDDLESEX," which followed, were drunk with three times three. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, after a description of the plan of Committees and canvassing, upon which the Electors ought all to act in order to secure the election of Mr. Paull, took his leave, accompanied by Mr. Paull, Colonel Bosville, and several gentlemen who sat at the top of the room, and followed by the applauses of the company.—Upon Sir Francis having vacated the chair, Mr. Cobbett was called to it, and he immediately proposed, "*Success to the election of Sir Fran-*"*cis Burdett,*" which was drunk with the most ardent expressions of enthusiasm.—Mr. Cobbett pointed out the several divisions to which it had been found convenient to apportion distinct Committees, and exhorting Gentlemen to put down their names, who were disposed to canvass in their several parishes, and to proceed to business as soon as possible, he begged to take his leave, in order to attend a Meeting in Westminster.—Mr. EWLINGS was then called to the chair. His health was drank, as was that of Mr. GIBBONS, both of whom made speeches expressive of thanks. And after a few toasts and songs, the company separated with the utmost harmony."

This is a true and fair account of all that passed. But, in the *Morning Chronicle*, it has been stated (I hope by mistake), that MR. PAULL, in his speech to the electors, said: "Of the Candidates who contended "with him for the high honour of represent-"ing Westminster, he was unwilling to say "much, but this he had no hesitation in "stating, that that illustrious man, Mr. "Sheridan, was entitled to a decided prefer-"ence."—This is a sheer fabrication, on the part of the person (whoever it might be) that imposed it upon MR. PERRY or MR. SPANKEY; for, not one word did Mr. Paull say of either of the other candidates, and not the most distant allusion did he make to either of them. It is very material that this should be known; for, were it to be believed that Mr. Paull uttered the words attributed to him, it must also be believed that he was guilty of an inconsistency of which his friends ought to be ashamed.—It was Mr. Paull's resolution, from the beginning, to stand or fall entirely upon his own ground; not to connect himself with any other candidate; and *by no means to begin hostility towards either*, which last resolution I communicated to Mr. Sheridan, informing him, at the same time, that I was come to town for the express purpose of lending Mr. Paull all the assistance in my power to secure his election. Some hostile, not to say low and scurrilous publications, have, however, on both sides appeared; but, as I am well-informed that they have, on the one side, taken place against the wish of Mr Sheridan, so I can take upon me to aver, that, on the other side, they have been decidedly disapproved of by Mr. Paull. —A great deal of virulent abuse has in some of the daily papers been poured forth against the doctrines, contained in Mr. Paull's Addresses to the Electors, connected as they have been, and as they fairly may be, with Sir Francis Burdett's Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, and a phrase in which Address has been so scandalously, and, I must say, basely misrepresented, "*The best of kings*," Sir Francis represents as the "*catch-word*" of a faction, whose only object it is to grasp, by the means of a reputation for loyalty, that power, which enables them to

rob the people of their money and the King of his due authority. But, this faction, as indeed, their interest imperiously dictates, have endeavoured to twist this expression into a sarcasm upon the character of the King, than which nothing, I am satisfied, could be farther from the mind of the writer, nor, indeed, could any thing be farther from the fair meaning of the words, taken into view with the context of the Address; which address, in substance, has a hundred and a hundred times been repeated, as expressive of the sentiments of the great Lord Chatham, and of almost every other man that has, in this country, for the last hundred years, been distinguished for public virtue.——It is well known, and must be particularly well remembered by every reader of the Register, that I expressed my approbation of the whole of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct during the last contest for Middlesex. I did so, because I saw nothing exceptionable in it; because I was convinced, that his views were for the public good, a conviction which had been produced in my mind by his then recent conduct in parliament; and because I saw marshalled against him the foulest combination that ever existed upon earth. At that time I was not personally known to Sir Francis Burdett. Since that time I have known him personally, and I *know*, as far as the nature of the case admits of certain knowledge, that his views are the same as my own, and that, with some little difference of opinion, perhaps, as to the *means*, our common end is, to preserve the kingly government and constitution of our country; to restore, as far as may be without hazard to these, any of the popular rights that may have been lost or impaired; and, at all events, and under any circumstances, to maintain, against every enemy, the independence and the honour of England. And, most anxiously do I wish, that the horde of jobbers and placemen, who have still the impudence to set up the cant cry of *Jacobin*, and thereon to combine against him, may, in the day of trial, be found as faithful to the king, and to the people whose blood they have sucked, as Sir Francis Burdett will be.——The RESOLUTIONS, proposed by him, and inserted above, may be regarded as his creed. Is there, in the whole kingdom, one single good man, who will not avow as his own every sentiment therein expressed? Does not every sentence contain an undeniable truth? And, if this be so, where, except in the interested hearts of the crew that is combining against him, is there any foundation for those slanders which are now in circulation? Such slanders, however, every man who dares to stand against the torrent of corruption must expect to meet with; and to him they are matter of much less concern than to the people themselves, who, particularly the Freeholders of Middlesex, if they have not public-spirit enough to show their resentment of such slanders by disinterestedly choosing the object of them, deserve to be slaves all the days of their life. The Electors of Westminster are now showing to the world, that they want no inducement, other than that of the public good, to bring them to give their votes; and, if the Freeholders of Middlesex want any other motive, they are unworthy of any representative, except such an one as will take care to draw from them in place or in pension more than a sufficiency to defray the expenses of ribbons and coaches. Sir Francis has now done what he should have done before. He has resolved to put the public spirit of the county to the test; and, if there be not a sufficiency of that spirit to return him to the parliament, the county is too worthless to be an object of his care.—— Now, as to myself, and the part I am personally taking in the election for Westminster, having been so long accustomed to the abuse of wretched hireling writers; having, in so many instances, published the slanders of others against myself as the surest means of defeating the object of them; having constantly found, that the abuse of such men has added to the number of my friends, and to the influence of my writings, it will be readily supposed, that the low and clumsy personalities now circulated against me, have given me pleasure rather than pain: but, there is one point upon which I am a little anxious, and that is, not to be regarded as having *thrusted myself forward personally* upon this occasion. My habits are perfectly domestic. I *love home*, perhaps, to a fault. I shun public scenes. And, as to popular applause, one single tune from the little Robin, who, at peep of day, sings at my window, gives me more pleasure than would the united shouts of a nation. But, having promised to aid Mr. Paull, in his great undertaking, at the suggestion of some of the men at present in power; having added my voice to theirs in encouraging him therein to proceed; having seen him pursue his course with unshaken integrity, though deserted by almost all those who had promised him support; and having, at last, seen him

proscribed as the price of his integrity: I could not, when called upon to join him in an appeal to the people, add my name to the long list of deserters; and, having resolved to assist him, I also resolved, that that assistance should not be in secret and underhand.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

TO THOMAS HOLT WHITE, ESQ.

My dear friend;——You tell me of a well written animated letter, calling on Westminster to ask me to become a candidate for representing that city. I much fear that I, my friend, no more than yourself, have the qualities now in request at general elections; and, therefore, I believe we shall both remain very sure that our retirement will not be invaded with invitations to represent either borough or city of any description.

Your letter, however, having put me upon a review of my pretensions, I have weighed them, and find them wanting. I am, it is true, rich enough for independence; but I am too poor to buy of electors the office of their protector; especially when my independence must go towards the purchase. With that independence I cannot afford to part, because I am too proud to say yea or nay when I am bidden. Besides, I am subject to a weakness that would unfit me for a tool of faction; I could not stand the finger of scorn, pointing me out as an apostate from the principles I have ever maintained. Nay, were I now capable of the affectation of acting the part of a political profligate, nature and habit would certainly betray me, and soon lose me the wages of prostitution. Doctor South tells the man of avarice, it is bad economy to be damned to save charges; what would he say to the sot who through life had enjoyed the noble office of a defender of liberty, and to the years of sixty-six had lived with honour, who should think to cheer the evening of life by becoming a traitor to freedom, and by wrapping his old age in the robe of infamy! Thus, my friend, you see, I am as unqualified as yourself, for being made a modern member of parliament.

If the electors of Westminster should be seized with a fit of public virtue, they would do much better to seek a representative at Chase Lodge than in Well Vale. At the Lodge they would find a lawyer ever ready to plead for the constitution without a fee; as well as an able bodied Englishman ready to serve his country without pay. In the Vale of Well they would only find a hobbling veteran far advanced in the vale of years, who now perhaps can preach better than he can act. From your intimate knowledge of him, you pretty well know what he would have to say on such an occasion.

Political liberty he holds to be the direct object of the English polity. That polity he finds to consist of two distinct parts, which he has been accustomed to call the civil and the military branches of the constitution. In the *civil* branch, the prominent features are a free press, equal law, trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus for personal security, and even after death (in cases capable of suspicion) a solemn inquest into the cause: But, above all these distinguishing rights of Englishmen, and without which they have no shield, nor one moment's assurance, we must add A REAL AND SUBSTANTIAL REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.

In the *military* branch of the constitution will be found, a system of arms-bearing for national defence and national strength, the most simple, the most perfect, and the most grand, that human genius ever devised, or human virtue ever adopted. Had such a system been common to the several continental states, there had been no French revolution; nor had Napoleon ever become the dread of Europe.

If these be correct delineations of the *English constition*, it will of course follow, that, inasmuch as the *English government* may have practically departed therefrom, it hath degenerated from its purity, and is impaired in its strength. In such a case, it would not be matter of opinion, but of certainty, that it stood in need of political reformation; and that without it, the English must become as slavish and contemptible, as the most degraded of the nations that lick the dust at the foot of an upstart sovereign.

You and I, my friend, well know, little as the truth has sunk into the bosoms of our thoughtless countrymen, our danger, greater than any we have to fear from Napoleon; from *a borough parliament, which does not represent the people*; and from *a standing mercenary army, dependent on the crown*. In a House of Commons, neither of us could ever cease to deprecate taxation without representation; or to endure in silence a standing army which should not be at least ten times outnumbered by freemen armed under a constitutional organization, securing *permanence* and discipline, as well as a prompt and orderly array under the most

respectable persons of rank and property in the country, whenever the moment of danger should arrive.

If, in the science of government, it be an undeniable proposition, that, with either a standing borough parliament, or an unbalanced standing mercenary army, it would be impossible for liberty to exist, what must be the fate of our country if both are to take root, and our constitution is to be blasphemed by arguments in support of such abominations!

If, in the degradation of Spain, Italy, and Holland, if in the abject condition of haughty Austria, and the puny resistance of which Prussia is capable, ministers cannot discern the radical weakness of despotism, and the madness of relying in the day of trial on standing armies, they must be stricken with the blindness of infatuation. And if, as the last resource of civilized nations, and the example best instructing them how to cope with France, they shall not instantly proceed to rouze the energies of England to their highest pitch, by restoring to her the full measure of her political liberty, by means of a complete reformation of parliament, and a true revival of the military branch of her constitution, they must in my judgment be alike destitute of the qualities of statesmen, or the integrity of patriots.

And I am persuaded, my friend, I do not hazard a difference of opinion from you, when I infer that England without liberty must soon experience a fall ten times more terrible than that of any nation I have named. Notwithstanding her insular situation, notwithstanding her navy, notwithstanding her gold, if she shall cease to be free, the man who has set on his own head the iron crown, will in due time lay upon her loins the full weight of his iron sceptre. With such a spirit ruling over Europe, and commanding the coast from the Baltic to the Adriatic, do the king's ministers resort, for the sense of the nation, to the rotten boroughs? Do they apply for political wisdom and public virtue to the corporations, where the votes are notoriously sold; and where, consequently, no man who obeys the law, or scruples to bribe, can find his way into parliament?

Should the electors of Westminster want an honest man, who knows and who reveres the constitution, to represent their city, they need not send farther than to Chase Lodge to find one: But such, in the present shipwrecked state of all the principles of true English election, is the ignorance of the mass of our electors, even in and about the capital, that I confess I do not expect any such thing.

I remain truly yours,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

Will Vale near Alford,
October 26, 1806.

ELECTION FOR WESTMINSTER.

SIR;——The result of the late election for Westminster, if it be not profaning the name of election so to term it, and the present determinatton of ministers to dissolve the parliament, has led me to consider, whether it be not within the moral and physical powers of the electors of Westminster at the next general election, although assailed as I conclude they will be, with the usual instruments of corruption, money and interest, to retrieve a character once admired for its independency, and which remained in great measure untarnished, until it compromised its honour in the recent return of Lord Percy.—It may be necessary to observe, that I mean not the least *personal* disrespect to that young nobleman, inheriting probably the illustrious character of his ancestors, his virtues may be exemplary, and his vices few. I only speak of him relatively as member for Westminster, in which situation he appears to me extremely misplaced, on two grounds; first as being the eldest son of a peer, and secondly, as being the agent of ministers, or what is more generally called a ministerial member: the first ground many would think, and very justly so, sufficiently forcible; for it is impossible to reflect an instant on the object of representation, and say that a peer can represent a commoner; nay, so distant is it from a representation, that it is completely a clashing of interests; it is the substitution of extravagance for economy, and luxury for poverty; it is making the unindustrious inheritor of overflowing coffers, the distributor of the hard-earned penny of anxious labour: but the second ground is with me still more formidable, for can any thing be more absurd than to talk of representation, when we are told that ministers can dictate to 14,000 men, who they are to elect for their member.—This leads me to inquire what are the generally assigned causes for a city degenerating so far as to join in the election of a man that common sense proclaims ineligible; and how far these causes are collectively or individually adequate to such an effect.—The causes generally attributed are wealth and interest; now, when it is considered that the electors of Westminster are in number 14,000, one cannot listen very seriously to the assertion,

that wealth is the chief source of corruption; upon the maxim indeed, of Sir Robert Walpole, that every man has his price, the position may by possibility be substantial, but if we allow, degenerated as we are, a very trivial sum as the price of each man's liberty, where is the purse that is likely to become so powerful an instrument; and in the very recent election there was no pretext for alledging any such ground of influence.—Can interest then effect the purpose? Admitting that the illustrious families of Northumberland and Devonshire should colleague in the honourable determination of attempting to undermine the rights and liberties of fourteen thousand electors, is it probable that they can have so absolute a controul over the consciences of so great a mass of mankind, as to effect so ungracious a purpose; this is equally difficult of belief. To what cause then can this evil be attributed? I will answer, Mr. Cobbett, to the *credulity*, to the *implicit* and *slavish obedience* which is paid to the harangues of artful men; without at all weighing the merits or demerits, the wisdom or imbecility of their discourses; without considering what powerful springs stimulate these orators to seduce and mislead the persons they address. It is the infirmity of man to place too great dependence on the assertions of others, instead of increasing his own faculties and *daring to think* and *judge* for himself. Providence in the plenitude of its gifts, gave man reason, and with that one gift made him pre-eminent over all; but to what purpose was this invaluable quality afforded us, if we suffer it to lie in listless inactivity, and yield our intellects the prostrate prisoners of artifice and cunning. I have a strong conviction, Sir, that neither money or interest are the formidable opponents to our independence so generally imagined. It is the *trick* of *power* to disseminate a belief that they are irresistible, but the fact is otherwise; it is to the insidious, crafty, and designing speeches of your Sheridans, and your Whitbreads, to which the disgrace of cities must be attributed; the men who can gull an all credulous public with the belief that they exclusively possess *socratic wisdom* and *stoical virtue*, are engines infinitely more dangerous than riches or interest; they lead captive the understanding, and leave us to wake from our transe of folly, when the calamities they have brought upon us are no longer to be reminded. This may be illustrated by bringing to our recollection the applause that resounded from all parts, on Mr. Sheridan's late speech at the Crown and Anchor; what could have induced a patient hearing of such an harangue, but a fatal deception that seized the minds of the electors, and made them imagine this man a wonder; a phœnix who forms a class in the individual: even violated friendship and public infidelity which shocks the feelings of the most obdurate on a deliberate perusal, received the tribute of *applause* only due, and but seldom paid, to *virtuous integrity*. But let it be remembered that this delusion is of our own seeking: every man, with the fewest possible exceptions, has implanted in him an intellectual capacity which will lead him from error, and conduct him into the paths of truth; we have but to use with *candour* what the Great Artificer of Nature has so richly gifted us with, and we shall "laugh to scorn" all the treacherous attempts upon our privileges, from whatever source they may emanate. It only remains for us to see through this great engine of political abuse, and prevent our reason from being subjugated, to enjoy that civil liberty which it has been remarked by Swift, was always understood by Britons to be the inheritance of a human creature; for, I cannot but repeat, that it is by poisoning the mind with insidious harangues, and artful compositions ushered into light, through the polluted medium of hireling prints, that we are reduced to a state of mental degradation, that fits us to be the tools of political artifice, and render ourselves the authors of all the evils we experience. We have a memorable example before us, Mr. Cobbett, which one would imagine ought to remove in future all our credulity: I mean the elevation of the Whigs to power. Here we have "philosophy teaching by example" what empty things are high-sounding professions of unshaken integrity; for we see the very men, whose lips for twenty years together have vibrated with the sounds of the people's rights, and parliamentary reform, when raised to power and emolument, forego at once all their former promises, and with a kind of fatality which seems inseparably attached to place, pursue the very worst of those measures, that the greater part of their lives they have been employed in reprobating. The reflection of these things, will I trust, rouse our torpid senses from the delirium in which they have long languished, and impel us to assert in future the dignity becoming man; that we shall hesitate not to examine with scrupulous care and manly independence, *even* the discourse of a *bishop*, though the subject should *be piety*; we shall then find that the cloud of ignorance which has so long envelloped us, will begin

to disappear, and we shall view the sun of truth and science shedding its genial rays around us; we shall then live happy and admired, and when called upon to pay the great debt of nature, we shall yield our last breath in the distinguished satisfaction, that we are bequeathing to posterity an indelible claim to their gratitude, and not leaving their curse to execrate our existence.——S.—*Lincolns-Inn, Oct.* 22, 1806.

QUALIFICATION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR,——I have delayed writing on the subject of this letter, hoping to have had the opportunity of a personal communication with you, but having learned that it will be in all likelihood some considerable time before you will again visit town, I beg leave to submit the following ideas to your consideration.—Among many abuses that have by degrees crept into the representation of the Commons House of Parliament, a very prominent one is the great number of fictitious qualifications which are constantly given for the worst and most corrupt purposes to the venal creatures of the great political leaders of the day. When the constitution fixed a maximum of property as necessary to qualify a representative of the people of England, it meant it not as a mere matter of form, but as a fixed and certain security against low and improper persons obtaining that honourable and trust worthy distinction, as well as to place them by such required independence beyond the reach of corruption. It has been stated with very apparent precision, that upwards of 100 members of the present parliament, are really and *bonâ fide* not possessed of the requisite Qualifications, but that the Qualifications given in by them were colourable and fictitious, and merely given them to comply with the letter of the law, and granted back again to those from whom they had been received the moment they had taken their seats, contrary to the true spirit and meaning of the law relating thereto. Many of the persons thus corruptly and colourably qualified, secure a seat in the Commons House of Parliament, for the entire purpose of protecting themselves from the just demands of their creditors, and selling themselves to any party that can afford them the means of pursuing their extravagance and debauchery. It would be insidious to point out by name, members sitting in that House against whose property extents at the suit of the crown, and process from their other creditors, have been issued and in force for years, and who, consequently, do not possess a single sixpence of their own. While the names of other members (aye, and Right Honourable ones too) are quoted every where, and in common conversation, for dexterously evading the payment of their debts by shameful devices, and obtaining new credits from the unwary, by ingenious and new stratagems little short of swindling. But, in some measure to remedy the above stated abuses, I would propose:—That the Qualifications of all members of parliament be registered when they take the oaths and their seats; and that they swear they are not colourable or fictitious, but really and *bonâ fide* their own property, and of the value required by law *above all reprisals.* Which are the words in the act:—That such Qualification remain registered during the whole time such member sits in parliament or represents the county or borough he is returned for:—That upon every meeting of parliament after a prorogation, the proper officer do return to the House the names of such members whose qualifications may have been withdrawn or lessened in any way beneath the required sums of 300l. or 600l. And that such members so having withdrawn or lessened their qualifications, be declared to have vacated their seats. And that the speaker be impowered to issue a new writ for the election of a member to serve in his or their stead:—That such Qualifications so registered, shall at all times be attachable by due process of law, and liable to all legal claims of real and *bona fide* creditors, in the same manner as any other real estate.—But in case any creditor shall under any colourable or false pretext obtain any judgment against any registered qualification for the purpose of causing any member to vacate his seat; upon due proof thereof he shall be fined in a sum not exceeding ten times the amount of such qualification, whether it be 300l. or 600l. and the jury to give such special damages to the party aggrieved as they may think fit.——These Regulations would completely get rid of fictitious Qualifications, and the House of Commons would no longer afford protection to titled or untitled, right honourable or dishonourable debtors, against the just demands of their creditors. The verge of the Palace has long ago been deprived of its injurious privilege. Honour, talent, and real independence ought to be the only privileges of the British House of Commons.

I remain, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

T. F.

London, Oct. 19, 1806.

THE GRENVILLE FAMILY.

Sir;—Retired to a remote corner of the kingdom, much more than 200 miles from the capital, I have for a long time ceased to mix in political matters; but the attempts now making to establish in power, and to increase the wealth of a Family determined to maintain themselves in both by choosing a parliament entirely to their liking, have induced me to point out to you the extent to which that Family has already enriched itself at the public expence.

The Marquis of Buckingham, Teller of the Exchequer, nearly about per year, - - - -	£30,000
The profits many years ago were £24,000, and they increase annually, as the public revenue becomes heavier.	
Mr. Thomas Grenville, C. J. of Forests South of Trent, per year,	3,500
First Lord of the Admiralty, supposed about - - -	4,000
	7,500
Lord Grenville, Auditor of the Exchequer - - - -	4,000
First Lord of the Treasury -	7,000
	11,000
Lord Temple, Paymaster-general	4,000
Lord Carysfort, his brother in law, Postmaster-general - -	2,500
Total per year	£55,000

These are however only the universally known profits and emoluments the Grenvilles have. But those who have looked at all into Reports which have been made to Parliament will see that Lord Buckingham, not content with the enormous profits of his Tellership took from his first clerk more than two thirds of his fees and emoluments, and sunk those of the second clerk entirely into his own family, having appointed to that honorable situation one of his own relations, as the most secure means of obtaining his object: whether that relation is still second clerk to the Teller I do not know, for his name never appeared in the red book. The first clerk who submitted to be stripped of more than two-thirds of his income was Mr. Freemantle, whose yielding probably recommended him to his present situation of secretary of the Treasury.—These facts will positively be found in the sixth Report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, page 94, or I should not expect you to believe them from an anonymous correspondent. I write from Cornwall by a friend going to London, not wishing to put you to the expence of postage, as you may not think my information worth it; but the temper and firmness with which you appear to resist the most oppressive ministry that has existed since the Revolution has induced me to take the chance of being useful. You can form no imagination of the threats and promises held out in this part of the country to induce persons in Boroughs to quit their old connections and betray their benefactors.—Yours, &c. Z.

NAPOLEON'S POWER OVER OUR FUNDS.

[Answer to Decius in page 620.]

Sir;—The candour so conspicuous in the correspondences of your paper encourages me to offer you the following correction of an error so monstrous that it cannot be ascribed to the sometimes excusable inadvertency of composition; it is a new proof of the danger of meddling with such subjects as are altogether incomprehensible, of this description are the advantages of the national debt and sinking fund.—In your last number, page 620, Decius says, "for the sake "of precision, let us suppose the quantity "of stock sold (by French emissaries) to "amount to two millions, and let us further "suppose that by some diplomatic contri-"vance he (Buonaparté) had caused a rise or "fall in the funds to the amount of 5 per "cent, here then would be a clear gain of "£50,000. Before this £50,000 would "amount to the six millions you speak of in "page 421, this same operation must have "been performed twelve times in two years."—Such is the stupifying effect of the national debt that in its consideration Decius loses the use of the commonest operation of calculation. In the first place 5 per cent on 2 millions is double the sum he mentions, and if instead of money he meant stock, the result will be equally erroneous, and in the next place his £50,000 to make six millions must be multiplied one hundred and twenty times in two years instead of twelve, as Decius from the confusion too often attending such incomprehensible calculations in numbers that exceed the conception of the human mind has stated: to put his position in simple arithmetical language,

£2,000,000 at 5 per cent is £100,000,
and
£100,000 × 60 = £6,000,000.

Thus the operation being repeated with equal success sixty times, in two years, six millions sterling might be withdrawn from the produce of the land and labour of the country; supposing half or quarter or only a tenth

to be realized, you have pointed out another evil resulting from the national debt, you have exposed another deformity of the monster to whom we sacrifice the fruits of industry and the means of independence, for which, and other proofs of your sagacity, I as an individual deeply interested in the welfare of my country, and feeling for the happiness and honor of the age in which we live, return you thanks; and I beg leave to add an admonition to Decius and all other well-intentioned advocates for a system, that to me seems pregnant with horror and devastation, in contemplating the national debt, let them first of all be fully sensible of the importance of one million, to count which with pebbles or nut-shells, would I fear exhaust the patience of the most stupid disciple of Pitt's school of economy and figures: with all due deference to the intentions of some, I am sometimes disposed to think indifferently of the talents without questioning the integrity of a man, who is said to have been acquainted with the secrets of all our manufacturers, who could tell the Brewer and Distiller the exact amount of their profits, and apply his fiscal rod to our cellars, our windows, and our purses; but who wanted capacity to audit the public accounts during the whole course of his administration: who had the eyes of an eagle for the smallest neglect of tribute in the distant parts of the island, but winked at the collusion of Melville and Trotter.—To those who, like yourself Mr. Cobbett, do not abandon the country to its fate, and think it not impracticable to avert the impending ruin, the national debt must present itself with the same aspect as the incumbrance of an individual, whether of landed property, or of mercantile eminence. Where the growing produce of the land or labour are not adequate to the payment of the interest, whether due on mortgage or the discount on fictitious bills, foreclosure in one instance, and bankruptcy in the other, must ensue; in either case, if extravagance in the Lord or Merchant require annual loans in addition to a debt already excessive, it may be from want of information, but I cannot perceive any advantage to be expected from what I conceive to be the principle of the boasted sinking fund.—I am, Sir, &c. SYDNEY.

CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

SIR;——Although I feel persuaded that yourself and the greater part of your readers regard professions as things of a very questionable nature, yet I shall take the liberty of professing myself to be as zealous a Protestant, as your correspondent A. B. is a Catholic; but as the tenets of my religion have impressed me with the propriety of a most admirable precept, "that of doing unto others as I would they should do unto me," I shall endeavour to refrain from any angry expressions towards A. B., a forbearance that *his* religion, and the sage remark of the inimitable Hudibras, who observes,

> That zeal's a dreadful termagant
> That teaches saints to tear and rant.

it should seem has failed to teach him.—— A. B. complains that I lopt off a most important branch of my argument, by deciding that every state has a *right* to a national religion, and to *point out of what persuasion that national religion shall be composed*; and, he observes, that he does not apprehend the imputation of treason against the state, if he *denies* the existence of such a right. Now, I do confess, that the denial of this right is what I did not expect the most zealous Catholic would have ventured to have undertaken; and the affirmative of the proposition seems to me so self-evident, that I scarcely know how to add strength to that intuitive feeling, which on the least reflection every impartial man must entertain upon the subject. I could indeed, simplify the idea of a government into that of a private compact, and suppose that a number of persons should form a society with the liberty of admitting other members on certain conditions; surely these persons could make a resolution that Catholics should be *ineligible*; and no Catholic as far as I can see, could fairly complain of such a resolution: most *clearly* he could have no right to prevent its being carried into effect. Upon what possible principle then, can a state be considered more imbecile than a private society; it is very natural to suppose it should have greater powers, but it seems quite absurd to suppose it to have less. The only ground offered by A. B. in answer is, that "men never made, or are they implied to "have made, a sacrifice of conscience on "entering into society: the religious belief "of every individual must be independent "of any respect for human institutions," but the whole of this answer is founded on misapprehension; for the state does not, any more than the society, interfere with the consciences of others; on the contrary, the state protects individuals in the exercise of their religious tenets whatever they may be; and claims no right of controul over private conscience. But if the state has no such right in this particular, as is asserted by A. B., what rights has it? because it should

seem to follow from the same principle, that the Catholics may insist on the new-modelling the state altogether. But possibly an extract from so unexceptionable an authority as Dr. Paley, who has afforded more assistance to the arguments of Catholic claimants, than perhaps any other man, may prove conclusive upon the subject. "The acts (says "Dr. Paley) of the legislature, the edicts of "a prince, the sentence of the judge, cannot "affect my salvation; nor do they without "the most absurd arrogance pretend to any "such power; but they may deprive me of "liberty, of property, and even of life itself, "on account of my religion; and however "I may complain of the injustice of the "sentence by which I am condemned, I "cannot alledge that the magistrate has "transgressed the boundaries of his juris-"diction, *because the property, the liberty, "the life of the subject may be taken away "by the authority of the laws for any rea-"son, which in the judgment of the legisla-"ture renders such a measure necessary for "the common welfare.*" Thus much on the question of right. With regard to the great impolicy of admitting the Catholics into power, that point, although somewhat more problematical than the former, is still, I contend, established on the ground I before advanced; viz. that discord would be the inevitable consequence of a cabinet formed of an *incongruous mixture* of Protestants and Catholics; and I cannot but believe that such a cabinet would, to borrow once more the assistance of Butler,

> Cut out more work than can be done
> In Plato's year, but finish none,
> Unless it be the Bulls of Lenthal,*
> That always passed for fundamental.

But A. B. challenges me to name a Premier, a Secretary of State, and a First Lord of the Admiralty within the last century, who did not differ in the fundamental principles of *religious or philosophic belief* as much as the three sectaries I contrasted together; to this I answer, there never was a ministry constituted of such HETEROGENEOUS RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES; I denied, and I still deny, the possibility of such an *unnatural combination* acting in *unison;* I assert that it is contrary to the principles which are known to be predominant in man, that they should do so; and I leave it to A. B. *who asserts the converse of this proposition;* to state a ministry that ever existed in this country of such discordant religious opinions; it is for A. B. not me to prove, what he advances as a truism, that *contraries can be united.* With regard to men of *different philosophic opinions* agreeing on other topics, the case is materially different; there is generally a narrowness, a gloomy rancour, that accompanies religious controvertists, that finds no place in the more liberal and expanded minds of philosophic disputants. A. B. produces the examples of foreign states, and brings before us Prussia, Saxony, and Russia; but the first answer themselves; for A. B. admits that the greater part of the King of Prussia's dominions, all the Poles and Silesians, to be Catholics; so with respect to the subjects of the Elector of Saxony (who is a Catholic) they are all Protestants; how then, supposing each of these states to feel the evils attendant upon this contrariety of religious opinions, how are they to redress themselves? *their condition is matter of necessity*; and to shew an evil without a remedy is shewing nothing. With respect to Russia the reason is obvious; who but can admire the wise policy of a Peter and a Catharine, in giving the greatest encouragement to all religious persuasions, as the most effectual means of rescuing their subjects from an abject state of barbarism. But why, instead of these so feeble examples, did not A. B. furnish us with some more appropriate, from that great nursery of Catholics, the Italian states? Are there none there to be met with? Will not this once enlightened portion of the globe, yield a single instance of charitable toleration? Can no examples be supplied from the erudite and illumined descendants of St. Peter, for granting to others, what they so modestly ask of us? No! not one Pope from the days of Gregory VIII. who ever dreamed of any thing half so heretical as toleration! Thus feeble then in argument and poor in examples can we view the dogmas of Romish superstition; reflect on the arbitrary despotism which accompanied Rome under Catholic rulers from her prosperity to her decline; recollect the miseries which this country experienced in the detested reigns of a Mary and a James, and yet admit that it would be policy to let the Catholics interfere in the Legislation? However short-sighted we may hitherto have been in our political measures, I trust we never shall be reduced to the condition of such total ablegy.

Lincoln's Inn, October 23d. W. F. S.

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* Lenthal was Speaker of the House of Commons which began the Rebellion, and was afterwards turned out by Oliver Cromwell; the ordinances of the House were signed by Lenthall, and therefore called his Bulls.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

PRUSSIA.——*Proclamation issued by the Prussian Administration of Eichfield and Erfurt, announcing his Prussian Majesty's determination not to consent to cede or exchange any of his Provinces whatever. Dated Heiligenstadt, September 12, 1806.*

The well intentioned inhabitants of the jurisdiction of this department have been alarmed for some time by all sorts of reports of the cession or exchange of their country. Though convinced of the falsehoods of these reports, the presidency of the royal chamber of war and domains, has thought it owed it to the fidelity and patriotism of the inhabitants of the province to procure them an authentic contradiction of the said report, which might set them perfectly at ease. It applied in consequence to the king, and by an order from the cabinet, dated the 28th ult. and received to-day, it is authorised by his Royal Majesty to contradict in the most solemn manner the said false rumours, his Majesty according to his own paternal expressions, not having even in the most distant manner the idea of ceding or exchanging this province or any other whatever.—The undersigned presidency hasten to communicate the paternal assurances of the monarch to all his subjects, persuaded, that they will still further increase their already proved patriotism, and dispose them to every sacrifice which circumstances may render necessary. Though no reports ought longer to alarm the inhabitants, all those who shall circulate them designedly must expect to be seriously punished.——(Signed)——DOHM. BORSCHE.

HOLLAND——*Letter from the King of Holland to the Assembly of their High Mightinesses. Dated Hague, Oct. 3, 1806.*

My Lords;——When we took a temporary leave of you in the month of June, we flattered ourselves with a happy return. Sensible of the burdens and grievances of our good people, it became an object of our indefatigable zeal to discover the means of putting an end to the general inconveniencies arising from the situation of the finances; inconveniencies which might have been foreseen several years past, and which, if we may use the expression, have been at different times occasioned by rash and inconsiderate conduct. We flattered ourselves, that the same Providence which had imposed that difficult task upon us, would also have rewarded our zeal and exertions in behalf of our beloved people, by putting the means of their delivery in our power. The public expenditure was already regulated in proportion to the revenue; we already enjoyed in perspective the period of a manifest improvement; we began to be acquainted with the affairs of the country; and in our own mind we had already fixed the day when we should be able to diminish the burdens of the people, which had become indispensibly necessary for the existence of the state.——On a sudden, rumours of war were spread abroad; numerous preparations were observed at no great distance from our frontiers; and, notwithstanding our extreme willingness to believe that these hostile rumours would not be followed by any untoward events, it is not less true that we, charged as we are with the important task of defending and protecting our faithful subjects, have found ourselves obliged not to lose a moment, but, on the other hand, to collect all the means in our power for the security of our dominions.—Whenever war is just, it carries with it a certain degree of confidence which we have already experienced; and though we are threatened with hostilities at a moment when the army is reduced, we take upon us to assure our people that they have nothing to fear; and that our vigilance and activity are fixed upon those objects most intimately connected with the security, the independence, and general welfare of our subjects.—We have assembled our troops; we shall hold ourself in readiness to repel any attack, from whatever quarter it may be directed; we hope, nevertheless, that, notwithstanding these unforeseen circumstances, we shall arrive at the constant object of our thoughts and actions. But as these measures of safety cannot be adopted without occasioning an extraordinary expenditure, you will feel the necessity of affording us larger supplies of money than those intended for the service of the present year, which were only calculated for the war service of the navy, at the period when the last general computation was settled.—Do not however imagine, my lords, that we shall be able at once to make head against the extraordinary expenses which the necessities of the state may demand, which have already been, and may yet be, applied for the safety and preservation of the kingdom; or that it is our object to propose to you any of those expedients, the pernicious consequences of which would be generally felt. No forced impost shall be laid either upon capital or income. We only require the customary imposts which the public treasury have already received of the

inhabitants. But, for the promotion of our object, the period of payment alone remains to be anticipated, and that within the shortest time that can possibly be fixed.—We had reckoned upon a momentary aid from our faithful cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, to forward the preparations for war, without having recourse to any other means; but though we acknowledge the zeal and exertions of our counsellors of state residing at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, it seems that a concurrence of peculiar circumstances has opposed obstacles to the complete success of their undertakings —We thus find ourselves compelled to lay a proposal before you, the object of which is, for you to demand some sacrifices from the people. This proposal you will find contained in the decree, which will be transmitted to you by the orators of the council of state.—If, my lords, on one side, the contents of our project shall make it evident that we have carefully avoided deviation, in any degree, from the perception of the new poundage, established by the law of July 12, 1805; so, on the other hand, we wish you to observe that, in proposing an anticipation of the payment of the new imposts, regulated upon the same footing as the old poundage, which is abolished, we are still pursuing the same steps for accomplishing our views. It is upon this footing only that the new imposts can be productive, and which will be the object of your deliberations.—We also wish you to observe, that we have no time to lose; that the business is pressing; and that any delay will be productive of the most injurious consequences. You will, therefore, my lords, make use of all possible expedition consistent with the object of your deliberations; and, whatever may be the remarks made, in opposition to the measures proposed, you will not reject them, admitting that any other means can be devised which may be better calculated to answer the pressure of the moment. As this extraordinary sitting has been convened solely for the present object, it will not continue beyond the moment your deliberations are concluded.—My lords, when you return home, assure your fellow citizens that we have no object in view but their happiness, to which we shall incessantly devote our care and vigilance; and assure them, in particular, that we have a claim to their most perfect confidence. And how can this confidence be refused to us? Does not the character of an inhabitant belong still more to us than themselves? There is none among them who is not at liberty to choose another country if he does not feel himself happy here, while we only are confined to the spot without the possibility of leaving it.——If honour affords any certain pledge for the actions of mankind, the Hollanders will most undoubtedly remain faithful to their engagements. They will support us in the execution of that task which the country has laid upon us; and we shall be grateful to Providence, that the present opportunity is afforded us, of knowing the extent of that confidence which we may repose in the sentiments of the nation, and particularly in those of your High Mightinesses.——My Lords, we commend you to God's holy keeping.—(Signed) Louis.——W. F. Roel, Secretary of State.

This communication being taken into consideration a Report was made upon it, by two of the Members, and presented to the Government along with the following:

Sire,——During a number of years, our country, groaning beneath an unremitted series of oppression, has been flattered with distant gleams of hope, which have as constantly vanished.—The great events, which must finally decide upon the fate of the world, and which have had such a remarkable influence upon this kingdom have frequently deceived the best grounded expectations, and have caused the failure of the best concerted measures ——The present period offers a new proof of the truth of these assertions; and we lament with you, Sire, that the flames of war, which threatened our country and mankind at large with new disasters, have not been at this moment prevented by the happy result of the beneficent and wise measures adopted by your Majesty. The events connected with the present period are intirely out of our power; but that Providence, in which your Majesty so justly confides, can so far overrule them as to render their result favourable to the continuance of the public welfare. We have been long accustomed to misfortune, and wait the course of things with calmness and tranquillity. Far from wasting time in unavailing complaints, we have thought it our duty to fix our attention to the measure on which your Majesty demanded our deliberation, as being necessary for the preservation of the state. The measure expressed in your Majesty's letter, we have taken into consideration with the most convenient dispatch, together with the decree added to the same; and we have agreed to the other measures for obtaining the necessary sums, an introductory detail of which your Majesty has been pleased to lay before us.—We have ac-

cordingly decreed unanimously respecting the principal means expressed in the decree of the project; but we cannot flatter ourselves that its due execution will be effected without many difficulties, oppressive to land owners, and the middling classes. At the same time, however, we declare, with that frankness which distinguishes the Hollanders, that it is not in our power to think of any other expedient better adapted to meet the pressure of our present necessities.—The same concurrence of events, Sire, which have so often been the guide of our conduct; the same obligation to labour for the preservation of the state; the same desire of contending with multiplied disaster, and to restore prosperity to our dear country, have again induced us to determine upon the present sacrifice.—We have adopted this resolution with so much the more willingness, because the benevolent disposition of your Majesty was taken as a pledge for the utmost degree of justice and mildness in the execution of this measure, particularly with respect to those who are the least able to answer the demands made upon them; and lastly, we are fully determined to concur in every effort for the preservation of the country, and to promote with energy every measure that can or may be expected of our assembly.—Having thus completed the object of our being called together, we return to our homes; there also shall we do homage to your Majesty's zeal and good wishes for the public good; and shall communicate that confidence which we repose in your Majesty to our fellow citizens.——This people, less animated by the impulse of passion than the impressions of gratitude and affection, are accustomed to practise an inviolate fidelity and love to their benefactors. Sire! the impending dangers being overcome, and the welfare of your adopted country being once more secured by your exertions, may the consciousness of your having insured the happiness of a brave and noble nation be your dearest reward, when every other pleasure prized by mortals shall cease to exist.——Sire, we pray the Almighty to take you into his holy keeping. (Signed) W. G. J. VANRHEMEN. (Undersigned) J. COUFERUS.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

BUENOS AYRES.——*Order of Council for opening a Trade with Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 17th of September, 1806, Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—Whereas the capital city, town, and fortress, of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, have been conquered by his Majesty's forces and the territory and forts of the same are delivered up to his Majesty, and the same are now in his Majesty's possession; his Majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that all his loving subjects may lawfully trade to and from the said capital, city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of the government of the same, in British ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably residentwithin the same, and under the obedience of his Majesty's government there; and that such trade shall be subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, conditions, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, to which the trade to and from his Majesty's colonies, plantations, and islands in the West Indies and South America is, or shall be subject by law, except as is hereinafter specified:—And his Majesty is further pleased to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that all commodities, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the said capital, city, town, and fortress of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, including therein all and every the territories belonging to, or forming a part of, the government of the same, or which have been usually exported therefrom, shall be permitted to be imported into any of the ports of the United Kingdom, in British ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his Majesty's government there; and that such commodities shall be subject to the same duties, rules, regulations, restrictions, conditions, penalties, and forfeitures, as articles of the like sort are subject to, coming from his Majesty's colonies, plantations, or islands, in the West Indies or South America.

To be Continued.

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